

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

SEVENTH YEAR, NO. 21.
WHOLE NUMBER 321BENJAMIN HANFORD,
of New York.

BS' TRIUMPHAL TOUR.

V. Debs' presidential tour south of the Mason and the last week, but the insurrectionary flag. The crowds, the enthusiasm in the streets where the subject of the tour was the subject of the tour.

At Chattanooga the party men organized five attempts to get the crowd to refuse him. The eye of the meeting, the people flocked to the streets where the subject of the tour was the subject of the tour.

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WHAT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM DEMANDS:

1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combines.
2. Democratic management of such collective industry.
3. Reduction of the Hours of Labor and progressively increased Remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest and security in old age.
5. The Inauguration of public Industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

Robbery is vastly more prevalent now than at any time in the world's history, only the robbers have discovered that it is safer to rob by mental force than muscular force!

The Chicago Socialist says: "Last Wednesday, in the midst of a large crowd of strikers and newspaper representatives, President Donnelly of the butchers' union, drew a Socialist button from his pocket and called the attention of those present to it and boldly pinned it on the lapel of his coat. He is said to have then pointed to the button and exclaimed: 'Boys, we will win this strike!'"

"No politics in the union!" When a man sets up that cry you will generally find sooner or later that he is an old party politician, who stays in the union for the purpose of selling out his brothers to the Hannas and the Cleveland. The Brotherhood of Carpenters, a vast labor body, is now in session in Milwaukee, and it happens that one of the candidates for the presidency is our old comrade John Slattery, of New Castle, Pa. He is as staunch a union man as he is a staunch a Socialist Democrat. In order to defeat him and hold possession of the office in the interests of pure and simple democracy, some of the labor fakers who fancy the organization belongs to them started in the city to work the newspapers with wild and woolly stories about the Socialists trying to capture the organization and the papers printed several columns about the strong fight that would be made on Socialism in the convention. Several men allowed themselves to be quoted in opposition to Socialism, all of them loudly protesting that they wanted politics kept out of the union and then showing in the next breath that it was Socialism politics they were really after. Said one of them, James A. Gibbs of San Francisco: "The Socialists elected three members of the executive board at the Atlanta convention on the quiet. The Socialists will not be allowed to do this again. We will know the politics of the men elected." No politics in the union—do you see the point? It is men of the Gibbs stripe who sell labor out to the capitalists election time, and who bring constant disgrace and impotency to organized labor. For their personal purposes they propose that the only members allowed to hold office in the organization shall be men who scab against their class on election day and make it possible for the wealth interests to use this government and its laws and the militia to keep Labor "in its place."

Some recent history in Milwaukee may be interesting to trade unionists round the country who cast their ballots for capitalist candidates in the childish hope that somehow the capitalist candidate when elected will turn his back on the capitalist interests and do the bidding of Labor. The working people of Milwaukee sent nine Social-Democrats to the city council to represent the interests of the toilers, and for the first time in the history of that body the Labor interests were looked after. The city was about to let a contract for a 20-million gallon pumping engine and the Socialists had the advertisement inserted. This was the beginning of an interesting fight. The bids that were already in were thrown out, although it was found that they were very low, as there was a sharp competition between the Alliance (Chalmers Co. of Milwaukee and the Wm. Tod Co., of Youngstown, O.,

for the contract, with the latter the lowest bidder. When the matter was advertised with the 8-hour clause in it, the Tod company did not bid, but those that did refused to recognize the 8-hour clause and their bids were all thrown out. Again the city advertised, and this time the Tod company put in a bid accepting the 8-hour provision, but their price was \$9,400 higher than their former one. Still they were the lowest bidders, as the others, who were all members of the Citizens' Alliance, still rebelled at the 8-hour provision. The Tod company was awarded the contract. Immediately the Filer, Stowell Co., of Milwaukee, through its president, T. J. Neacy, known to be a leading member of the Party organization, applied to the courts for a temporary injunction, his lawyers being Quarles, Spence & Quarles, the legal representatives in Milwaukee of the Citizens' Alliance, claiming that the 8-hour clause was responsible for the higher price at which the contract had been let, and that they were bringing the suit in the interests of the tax payers whose money would be squandered. This was not, of course, as it was the work of the Party organization that gave the Tod people the chance to put in a higher bid and still get the contract. The city attorney, who represented the city against whom the suit was brought, together with the Tod company, told the papers that the city was sure to lose and that the

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During the present national campaign you will hear many a sleek campaign speaker for the old parties claim that the people who deserve to prosper get a good living and that it is only the lazy, the improvident and the undeserving who are suffering for the comforts of life. But no one should be misled by such heartless lying. Here is an illustration that it is the deserving who are in distress:

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Capitalism gives the least pay to the hardest worker. Socialism would reverse it.

What's this story about federal troops being sent to Colorado, to protect the miners? A Republican president sending troops to interfere with a Republican governor and his union-smashing state troops—it sounds likely, doesn't it? Republican administrations are noted for their use of soldiers to protect the rights of the working people, don't you know! Peabody has been renominated by the Republicans of Colorado and a fierce effort will be made to give his course the vindication of a reelection. Fancy a national Republican administration interfering at such a time! The despatches to that effect have the well known look of campaign buncombe.

It beats the world what rubbish the people will swallow. We have before us a Republican cartoon representing Roosevelt as a gladiator with a roaring lion marked "Illegal trust" springing at him. Roosevelt wears a smiling calm, while in his clenched hand is a Roman sword, labelled "Law." Now, if there is anything the past year has brought into plain view it is the fact that the trusts, "legal" or "illegal," have Roosevelt just where they want him and if you listen carefully you can still hear the echo of their roars at that Knox fiasco, or farce comedy, rather. Yet such pictures go with some people, and bring to mind the words of a famous showman to the effect that the American people like to be humbugged.

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NOW FOR THE ENEMY.

Eugene V. Debs calls for Courage and Action.

To the Comrades: Fifty days more! And then the grand charge on the enemy's works!

The field stretches out before us and it fairly swarms with Hessians of capitalist power. These subsidized soldiers, from the commander-in-chief to the last straggler, are held in position by the magic power of graft. Of such is the kingdom of capitalism. Corruption precedes the upheaval! Looking down the field we behold the advancing army of relief—the working class in battle array! Every class-conscious warrior is in line and all of them move as one.

It is truly admirable and inspiring. The centuries have put this army in motion and this host will conquer the earth and consecrate it to peace and joy. What a privilege to fight in such a cause! Who that knows the thrill of manhood would not gladly give it his hand, his heart, his life! Fifty days more! Comrades, this is our year! Each day sees us stronger, clearer, more determined.

The Socialist party is one from sea to sea. Courage, confidence and enthusiasm abound. The working class are compelled to choose between two capitalist parties and a working class party. Thousands are flocking to our revolutionary standard. This year the social revolution will register its rising tide and the sons of toil will shout for joy. Each comrade is at his post. Not one who is true is idle. Not one will shrink or shirk. Fifty days more, comrades!

You have weathered the storms of the past and you are tempered for the battle of today. Charge the enemy from every quarter and you will grow stronger as the battle waxes hotter. Spread Socialism far and wide, scatter your literature everywhere, give each day your ability, your energy and tenacity and when the smoke of battle clears away the comrades will stand forth an honor to the whole movement.

Eugene V. Debs

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SOCIALISM AND THE CITY.

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

The National Socialist Platform for 1904

(As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

The municipal ownership of Gas Plants has not extended as widely as in the case of water works in this country, but it has gone far enough, and there is information enough at hand, to furnish convincing evidence in connection with this kind of municipal industry, also.

Professor Bemis, in his "Municipal Monopolies," shows that 75 cents per 1000 cubic feet is an ample charge for gas in any city east of the Rocky Mountains. The one exception to the complete and permanent success of the municipal gas plant seems to be Philadelphia, where the notorious Quay ring bought and sold all kinds of franchises almost at will. The following table is taken from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, and shows the fact that in every one of the 11 cases reported the municipal plant furnished gas at less cost than similar private plants.

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 CUBIC FEET OF GAS PRODUCED.

Gas produced (co. ft.):	Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Public Number of Plants:	Cost:
Under 2 million	10	\$3.71	1	\$3.34
2 million and under 5 million	69	2.17	2	1.18
5 " " " 10 "	43	1.84	2	1.51
10 " " " 15 "	63	1.44	1	1.03
15 " " " 20 "	45	1.52	2	.96
20 " " " 25 "	23	1.35	1	1.03
25 " " " 30 "	38	1.35	1	.91
30 " " " 35 "	17	1.14	1	.91
35 " " " 40 "	9	1.06	1	.93
40 " " " 45 "	18	.92	2	.93
45 " " " 50 "	8	.76	1	.93
500 " or over	11			

Total number of plants reported 316

This table includes depreciation, estimated taxes, interest on total investment, etc., for the public works.

Here there is absolutely no excuse whatever for the statement that private ownership can even produce more cheaply. There need be no discussion as to what the benefit to the public would be under these circumstances, if the gas plants were owned by the municipalities.

In the matter of Electric Lighting there has been some confusion, and more misrepresentation, because of the differences of local elements, and the differences in kinds and quantities of currents used. But even so we still are in possession of facts which enable any fair minded alderman to decide whether under any circumstances it is wiser for the people to own their own electric light plant or to hire the lighting done by a private company.

The following table is taken from Parson's pamphlet on the subject.

COST OF ELECTRIC LIGHT BEFORE AND AFTER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Total cost per year for electric street lights, the "after" service being as good or better than the service it replaced.

	Before: Private company per street, per annum, including taxes, insurance, depreciation, and public operation began.	After: Cost per year for public ownership, including taxes, insurance, depreciation, and public operation began.	Cost of public ownership, per annum, per street, per annum, including taxes, insurance, depreciation, and public operation began.
Aurora, Ill.	\$325	\$72	\$61
Elgin, Ill.	228	65	56
Marshall, Iowa	125	40	30
Pay City, Mich.	100	67	58
Detroit, Mich.	132	83	68
Allegheny, Pa.	180	86	75
Bangor, Me.	150	58	48
Lewiston, Me.	182	58	52
Peabody, Mass.	185	73	62

To this may be added Chicago, which was paying \$350 per arc, under private ownership, and in 1899 had reduced the cost under public ownership to \$55.93 per arc. If there is a city on earth where public ownership would naturally be affected for the worse by political corruption, Chicago is the city. But in spite of the corrupt political conditions, the city saved \$195 PER ARC PER YEAR on its street lighting, under municipal ownership. Detroit has reduced the cost per arc to \$60.30 per year.

Another short table of comparative costs will serve to make the matter still clearer.

Year	City	Cost of private plant, per annum, per street, per annum, including taxes, insurance, depreciation, and public operation began.	Cost of public plant, per annum, per street, per annum, including taxes, insurance, depreciation, and public operation began.
1893-4	Pittsburg, Pa.	\$195	\$83
1890-7	Troy, N. Y.	146	75
1896	Buffalo, N. Y.	127	83
1897-8	Buffalo, N. Y.	100	73

The above is only a suggestion of the material that may be had, by referring to the authorities quoted, as well as others.

The true main objection to municipal ownership is on the ground that public ownership is not as progressive as private ownership, owing to the lack of personal interest. But all facts thus far submitted go to show that it is a decided advantage to have the personal interests eliminated, and the interests of the public made the dominating factor in any given enterprise.

To begin with, we will quote Mr. Cowdery, of the Milwaukee Gas Co., on the subject with which he is most familiar and where he may be accepted as an authority. He says: "The gas business, and progress in it, has been greatly retarded by methods which are not sound in principle, but greatly speculative in their nature." No doubt he is more than ever of this opinion, after his recent deal with the Semet-Solway concern. Prof. Bemis rightly says on the same point: "Private gas companies, with an assured monopoly, often feel less impelled to make improvements than public companies controlled by the voters, whose demands for cheap light, etc., can be brought to bear upon their own agents far more easily than upon private companies."

This argument is often supported by reference to the publicly owned railways of Europe as being far behind those of the United States, which are privately owned. But those who bring the argument forget to compare the publicly owned railways with those privately owned in the same or adjoining countries, where they will find the proof that it is not because they are publicly owned, but because all railroading in Europe is behind that of America. It is said that they do not even have baggage checks in England; but the railways are not publicly owned there as yet!

Comparing two similar services in this country, let us ask, which has been more progressive, the United States Post Office or the Western Union Telegraph Company? The latter has pigeon-holed inventions,

HALF HOURS IN THE HERALD SANCTUM.

Peace in San Francisco—Comrade Wilson vindicated.

Editor Social-Democratic Herald: The state convention of California was one of the most sensational and exciting affairs that ever transpired in the history of Socialism on the Pacific Coast. The friends of the Bogan Ticket took possession of the convention hall at an early hour. The question on every body's lips was, where would Mr. J. Stitt Wilson stand. It was the general opinion that he held the majority of the rural delegates in the palm of his hand and it was feared that which ever way he went they would follow. The state committee the day before convention had unanimously struck him from the list of state lecturers and instructed the state secretary to cancel his dates until such times as he should declare his position. The promoters of the Bogan Ticket were jubilant. The only intimation of Mr. Wilson's position, his replies to Organizer Lewis' questions, were distinctly in their favor. Mr. Wilson explained after the crash that he had replied to those questions (Academy of Sciences, Aug. 14, 5 days after the election) without knowing what they meant.

The training point came when the secretary read recommendation from the state committee, that the convention should adjourn subject to the call of the chair and the regularly elected delegates go into a party caucus. This was to prevent the Bogan delegates with their city hall credentials from having anything to do with any of the further acts of the convention.

Delegates Wilson supported the recommendation, and the hopes of the Bogan delegates dropped to zero. Outside the hall, the supporters of the Bogan ticket who considered they had

reason to expect Delegate Wilson's support. Last night (Sept. 13) at the meeting of the German branch, Emil Liess, defending himself as chairman of the Bogan party, declared that Del. Wilson had deserted his friends in order to save himself, and gave as a reason, Delegate Wilson's desire to recover his position as state lecturer. The recommendation to caucus, carried by 39 votes to 9. When the convention was called to order the following day, to legalize the caucus findings the Bogan delegates had gone home to ruminate upon the disaster that had overtaken their fatuous policy.

At the end of the first day's proceedings the convention unanimously consented to Del. Wilson's request for the floor to criticize the San Francisco Local's "Manifesto." The debate occupied some two hours. One point was cleared up in Del. Wilson's favor, this consisting in Del. Wilson's explanation that his meetings of late were entirely his own, and that the names and addresses collected were in his exclusive possession. Those collected by the Pacific Coast Lecture Bureau he admitted were in the possession of Mr. Walker.

Local San Francisco considered itself completely justified by the outcome. Whether our "leaves" and "suspensions" of Mr. Wilson's loyalty were or were not justified by the state of the evidence at the time they were published is still a matter of opinion. The later evidence of Mr. Wilson's behavior in the convention was so satisfactory as to put the San Francisco delegation in a generous frame of mind as will be seen by its consent in the convention to the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the manifesto issued by Local San Francisco to the Socialist movement in California is a masterpiece of logic and eloquence, and has done more to advance the cause of Socialism in this state than any other single document; and

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refused to extend service when requested, has fostered gambling on racetrack returns, kept its prices up to the highest possible limit, and to cap the climax, employs babies! Compared with the English National Telegraph it is old-foggyish and out of date, and recently had to send for some English Telegraphic Engineers to tell it how to get its lines into proper shape. It has refused so far to use the two best and latest inventions in connection with wire telegraphy. Its stock in 1897 was found to be \$97,000,000, of which about \$92,000,000 was water. There is a private "enterprise" for you!

But publicly owned plants have shown themselves to be progressive, in their efforts to serve the public. Extension of water mains, gas mains, electric light circuits and street car lines is the rule, as soon as these are taken under public ownership. They are progressive also in constantly reducing the price of the service, until at least it is reduced to cost. This kind of progress can never be expected of private companies. Only a municipal plant can progress in that direction. That is the big argument, after all, for the municipal plant, from this point of view.

THE END.

[Requests to republish the following article by Comrade Debs have been so incessant since its appearance in No. 305, that it is here with again reproduced in its entirety.]

PLEASE THE MASTERS

EUGENE V. DEBS' REJOINDER TO JOHN MITCHELL'S LETTER IN A RECENT HERALD.

THE brief article I had in the "HERALD" of April 9th in reference to the wage reduction forced upon the coal miners by the mine owners, assisted by the national officers of the United Mine Workers, has not been ignored as Mr. Mitchell said it would be when it was first brought to his attention. It required Mr. Mitchell to summon the aid of his colleagues, six weeks of time and several columns of space to point out the "misstatements," and so hopeless did they find the task that they had to confess failure in vulgar resort to personal detraction.

The alleged reply consists wholly of words. From first to last it is a quibble over minor points. Every material fact is avoided; every irrelevant detail is brought out and made to do duty in the circular procession.

The essential truth of my statement has not and will not be denied. It can not be answered by personal abuse, nor extinguished by a deluge of meaningless words.

Suppose I were foolish enough to pose as a "martyr," what has that to do with the case? Does it alter the fact that Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lewis used all the power of their official positions to help the operators reduce the wages of the miners, and this after Mr. Mitchell had proved conclusively that the reduction was "unwarranted" and after he had declared he would never consent to it?

Never mind about the "diseased imagination," the "crucified martyr" and the particular hour of adjournment; is the above statement true or is it false?

Mr. Mitchell virtually admits it and his explanation places him in the attitude of a general on a field of battle, first assuring his soldiers that their cause is just and that they must face the enemy like men and then, on the eve of the fight, turning about and saying to his same soldiers who had so lustily cheered him: "I have been in conference with the general on the other side and he has convinced me that we are taking desperate chances of being whipped and so I advise that you accept the terms of the enemy and retreat from the field without a fight."

As to the personal insinuations which are supposed to serve, where facts fail, I regret as much as Mr. Mitchell seems to enjoy the meagreness of my service to the working class, but little as that service may amount to, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it is not of a quality to inspire the capitalist press to convince me that I am the greatest labor leader on earth.

And little as I may claim, as compared with Mr. Mitchell, there is yet enough to include an almost fatal stroke, sustained on a public highway, the only place allowed me under a federal injunction, while rallying a body of coal miners to unite in the fight for an increase of wages and join the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Mitchell claims that I accused him of dishonesty. I deny it. No such charge was made by me. I am concerned with acts and facts and not with motives. Mr. Mitchell's honesty is not in question. Let that be conceded. Results remain the same.

Now what are the questions in controversy?

First—In my article of April 9th I incorporated a press dispatch sent out by the Pittsburgh Post on March 6th, saying that it, the Post, had it upon the "best authority" that there would be no strike, that the miners would accept the reduction and that a two years' contract would be signed.

The dispatch was sent out after the convention of miners at Indianapolis had turned down the ultimatum of the operators and a strike seemed so imminent that the press uniformly declared that "only a miracle could prevent it."

The prediction made in the dispatch came true to the letter. There was no strike, the reduction was accepted and the contract was made for two years.

The dispatch was undoubtedly sent out on the "best authority." It was true prophecy. Now the question is, who is the "best authority" as to whether the miners will strike or not? Did the Post speak upon such authority? The outcome verifies it. Again, did the Post have such authority, or did it lie? The Post is friendly to Mr. Mitchell, will he say it lied? Will he have the Post name its "best authority"?

I intimated that the Post's "best authority" was Mr. F. L. Robbins, leader of the mine owners, who lives at Pittsburgh, where the Post is published, and I then asked, "Did Robbins, leader of the operators, have an understanding with Mitchell, president of the miners," and I answered, "It must be admitted that it looks that way."

This is the point that excites the wrath of the union officials. I now repeat it. To me it looks that way. I cannot avoid that conclusion.

The only error I made was in the date of adjournment. The convention adjourned March 7th, not the 5th. Upon this point I stand corrected, but it is wholly immaterial. The convention refused the ultimatum of the operators on the 5th, the press reports saying "the vote was cast in the face of the opposition of President Mitchell and the other national officers." Next day the Post sent out its prophetic dispatch. That is the point at issue, THE ACTION OF THE CONVENTION AND THE POST'S PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT NEXT DAY. The date of adjournment does not alter the fact in the smallest degree.

"But," says Mr. Mitchell, "Mr. Robbins had not returned to Pittsburgh and therefore could not have given the Post the information—that disposes of the 'misstatement.'" Not quite. The Post had a representative at Indianapolis and there are telegraph wires between there and Pittsburgh.

When I said that in my opinion there was an "understanding" between Robbins and Mitchell I simply meant what I said. The men are on friendly personal terms. There is nothing wrong about that. When "they shook hands in the presence of the delegates and engaged in earnest conversation and were loudly applauded by the convention," there was no objection to that.

But the miners voted down the operators in spite of Mitchell's protest. That is a fact, is it not?

And when the operators were voted down, Mitchell and the national officers of the union appealed to the referendum.

Would they have resorted to the referendum if the delegates had voted to accept instead of rejecting the reduction?

The national officers also had themselves authorized by the delegates to "explain" the situation to the local unions in sending out the vote and this "explanation" took every form that could be devised to whip the rank and file into submission to the operators.

As an instance of this "explanation" the speech of Mr. Lewis at Linton was a shining success. He was given full credit by the capitalist press for having turned defeat into victory and carrying the day for the reduction and against the strike.

But to complete the evidence. When the operators were turned down by the miners' convention and a strike seemed inevitable the Pittsburgh Post coolly declared that it had it upon the "best authority" that there would be no strike, that the miners would give in; and then it went on to state precisely what the basis of final settlement would be and that the contract would be signed for two years. Less than two weeks later all these things came to pass to the very letter.

X Now this "best authority" was doubtless Robbins speaking through

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement that has the right to the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our states and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and so stifling the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political 'ranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down the lot of all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a non-working or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Whenever and wherever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The capitalist class is itself being destroyed. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

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But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation.

An Appeal to the Workers.

Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and them, we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

Notwithstanding this more than 67,000 members of his organization, representing its highest intelligence, voted against the reduction, rejecting his advice and impeaching his leadership, and I happen to know that a large proportion of them heartily approve and are ready to stand by every statement contained in my article.

Here are a few lines just received from a member of the Miners' union: "I want to thank you for telling the truth about the settlement. The operators beat us with the help of our own officers. Six months ago a man would have been mobbed if he had said a word about Mitchell in this neighborhood. Now you can hear him condemned everywhere. You have more friends among the miners here today than John Mitchell."

"The four alleged 'misstatements' Mr. Mitchell claims to have disposed of in his attempted denial are in fact one and the same, and hinge upon the simple error in the date of adjournment which, as I have shown, is utterly inconsequential and has no bearing whatever upon the material facts of the statement which stand as wholly unimpeached as when they were first written down.

To sum up, here is substantially what I stated: That Mr. Mitchell led the miners in their conference with the operators; that he said: "This year the demands of the miners referring to the absolute run of mine basis and the present wage scale must be met or the mines will cease to produce coal;" that he demanded a uniform wage for all inside and outside labor and a 7 cent differential; that he advised his followers to stand firm; that he declared he would never yield; that the United Mine Workers would take no backward step; that the reduction proposed by the operators was unwarranted and would not be accepted; that last year's earnings of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. were \$20,000,000, showing a large increase in profits; that he and the miners were "terribly in earnest," etc., etc.

I have the reports before me and the proof that this was his attitude and these his utterances is simply overwhelming.

What next? Why, a few days later, we hear him saying to his followers: "Your national officers want you to accept this cut!"

What do you think of it, Mr. Mitchell?

Would it be possible for an enemy to place you in a more unfavorable light than you are placed by your own official words and acts?

You said all these things and did not mean them. You yielded one point and then another, after declaring you would not yield; finally when you had surrendered all your demands you declared that you would insist upon the old scale, and that you would not recede from it.

(Continued on page 4.)



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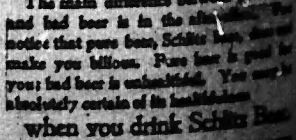


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The main difference between good beer and bad beer is in the way it is made. The Schlitz beer is made by the Schlitz Brewing Company, Milwaukee, Wis.

when you drink Schlitz Beer.

RICHARD ELSA... LAWYER

betraying their Class for Pay. -- 48 Strikes Were Broken.

FAMOUS STRIKE-BREAKER FARLEY AND HIS LUCRATIVE BUSINESS EXPOSED.

H. Ward, secretary to the strike breaker Farley, has given disclosure of the business. Working men do well to ponder the facts.

Mr. James Farley, for eight years, ever since the business of breaking strikes has been perfectly above board, and will bear

ask me these questions a times a day.

the last question first that while I don't know much he is worth, every

knows him at all knows him. He owns four fine

two at Pittsburgh, N. Y., Brooklyn, and one at Cincinnati. He has property besides

the company that engages him to break a strike pays him \$5

each man he holds in the place of one of the

and he gets this whether the strike is broken or not, just for having

only lasts a few days, it runs on, as it sometimes

for two or three months, you see that Mr. Farley's profit is a

an Army of 1,500 Men. He brings together at twenty

notice 1,500 men. He gets the number 1,750 if it is

and for every man he has to be ready to come to the

of the strike, remember, he

the time the man gets his

and packs his grip for the

he gets \$2.50 a day, his

expenses and his board, there is a strike or not. If

a strike he gets \$1.50 a day. Mr. Farley pays this, and the

between the \$2.50 or \$3.00 in the case may be, is clear

to Mr. Farley. The railroad fare of the strike

paid by the company that engages him. The company

boards them, generally in their own homes. All Mr. Farley

himself is about their business. But when I tell you that he

1,500 men together at San Francisco and broke the back of a

that lasted four months, you see some idea of his profits.

Amounts to about \$306,000, doesn't it? I never figured it up exactly.

Must Be a Millionaire.

In the eight years he has been in this business he must have broken on an average of at least six strikes a year. Sometimes his men don't have to lift a finger. Just being there is all that is necessary lots of times. It was because Farley's 360 men were here ready to jump on the cars and take the places of motor-men and conductors that the Interborough men concluded not to strike. The night this conclusion was reached Mr. Farley sent 200 of his men home.

The very next morning, when it was known that the men had gone, the strikers made new demands, to

post card from him they quit work for their own company. Sometimes they don't go to the scene of the strike at all, simply wait at home for orders.

Mr. Farley gets a few of his men on the ground ready for the immediate emergency. The others are, as it were, at the other end of the telephone wire waiting for orders. But he always has plenty of men on hand. For instance: It takes about 150 men to run the cars of the Interborough company. Mr. Farley, you know, had 360 men, over twice the number needed, ready on the spot.

The men ran some risks, of course, but Mr. Belmont had provided that on every car there should be three policemen, and, if neces-

The telegrams or postal cards that are sent to the men always read the same. "There is trouble here. Come to (giving the address). Report sick. James Farley."

That is the signal between the company and the chief of the strike breakers. The man shows it at the company offices and goes home to wait and draw his \$2.50 a day. If he is needed he is wired, "Come at once."

Mr. Farley need to follow the horses. Before he got into this business he was a race-track man. That was when I first knew him. To go further back than that he was born in Plattsburg, N. Y., more than forty years ago. When he was quite a youngster he ran a hotel there, and the first newspaper paragraph

it was during that strike that he conceived the idea of getting companies that employ non-union men to combine and have a draft list ready to help out other companies that are having strike troubles. So he got the companies in the seven cities I mentioned to unite in a kind of mutual protection against strikes agreement, and it has resulted in Farley's army, with Farley as commander-in-chief.

In 1897 he took his men to Providence, R. I., to down the strike of the interurban service on the Providence Valley system. The strike lasted for three weeks, but Farley broke it and forced the men to go back at the company's terms.

Three Months' Siege in Scranton. He took the same men to Scranton in 1902 and found the system tied up. We took the cars out and for three months Farley's men were the only crews. The union men at last consented to arbitrate.

The Waterbury strike in 1903 was one of the worst ordeals we have had.

The Bridgeport strike was a tough one: It lasted for a month.

Although it was not generally known, Farley was in Chicago several days before the strike there, several men reported to him personally for work. The mob made a lot of trouble in that strike, and a dozen or more of our men were badly beaten at the corner of Halstead street and Wentworth avenue one morning. It looked for a while as though the men were going to pay for their bravery—for it takes bravery to be a strike breaker. The strike was settled by arbitration and the trouble ended when the church bells were ringing for services on Thanksgiving Day.

We went to Bloomington, Ill., on New Year's Day this year and commenced work in breaking one of the most tedious strikes ever known in this country. After a two months' struggle the strikers gave up the fight and went back to work. We were summoned from Bloomington to Ashland, Ky., and the strike ended peacefully after we had been there for three weeks. In May Mr. Farley received a wire from San Francisco saying that his presence was required there.

"Don't bring many men," he was told, "because you are needed more as a bluff than anything else."

What does Mr. Farley think of his profession, did you say. He says it's a legitimate business and he likes it!

The recent disagreement between the New York Elevated Railroad and the employees of August Belmont's new Subway Company, has brought to light a very new and curious figure in the industrial world—James Farley, professional strike breaker.

When Mr. Belmont said, "Very well, if a strike comes, we have 1,500 skilled motormen waiting to step on to the cars as fast as the strikers leave them," he let a large cat out of the bag. The 1,500 trolley men are an organized army of professional strike breakers under the command of Farley. With almost military discipline Farley controls these men and they have fought campaign after campaign against union labor. Like a general at the head of his army, Farley is obeyed even to the risk of life and death.

James Farley, professional strike breaker, is an interesting factor in the labor situation, and a somewhat flattering eulogy of this man is printed below on this page as given by Mr. Farley's admiring lieutenant and secretary, Richard H. Ward.

But quite apart from the revelation of Mr. Farley and his methods, the interesting fact has developed incidentally that at least seven non-union street car companies throughout the United States have united to maintain an efficient little force of skilled employees who are cheerfully loaned to Farley, the strike breaker, wherever he needs them. These trolley companies are in San Francisco, Baltimore, Waterbury and Bridgeport, Conn.; Jersey City, Newark, and Scranton, Pa. How many other non-union recruits are always awaiting the telegram of Mr. Farley in the states between Connecticut and California has not been developed.

So far Mr. Farley claims to have successfully "broken" forty-eight strikes here and there about the country with his army of 1,500 faithful strike breakers. The working terms of this new figure in the labor world are as follows:

Each man summoned but not working is paid each day	\$2.50
Farley receives for each man, every day	\$5.00
Each man working is paid expenses and each day	\$3.50

All men in the army receive railroad tickets from employing company. Employing company shelters and boards all workmen and waiting men. At conclusion of San Francisco strike each man received gift from company of \$25.

which Mr. Belmont would not agree. As soon as he so notified Mr. Farley he sent for the men, and before they had reached their destinations some of them were on their way back to New York.

There has been a great deal of curiosity, and many misstatements have been made as to what kind of men these strike breakers are. I will end that here and now by telling the plain truth. The men are all employees of other street railway companies, loaned to each other in case of a strike.

Mr. Farley gets his men from the street railway companies of Baltimore, San Francisco, Newark, Jersey City, Waterbury, Bridgeport and Scranton. Each company has its list of 200 or more men who are at Mr. Farley's command. The moment they receive a telegram or

sary, three soldiers, for the militia would have been called out to protect these men. But the men don't worry about the danger. They all like the adventure and the ready money.

Some of the men know all about running the car at both ends. Those that don't know we teach.

Mr. Farley won't have any but orderly men in his little army. He has some rules that it's understood must never be broken.

When a man goes back to the company he takes up his work where he left it, has the same job. It helps him rather than hurts him to be a strike breaker.

But the man that he has let go can never fool Farley. He's a man that never forgets a face, and when he's once seen you, he always remembers you.

ever published about him called him a wild man. A dentist had given him an overdose of cocaine, and he rambled about, out of his head, for a week. When he got his senses back he sold his hotel and played the horses.

Career Began in Brooklyn.

He was in Brooklyn when a strike broke out over eight years ago. He heard that the company needed men to guard their property and applied for the job. While he was doing guard he learned all about how to run a car, and that has been of use to him, as you can see. What a man knows he can teach and make money out of.

Soon after that he went to Philadelphia with a small gang of men and helped to put down a street railway strike, more for love of the excitement than anything else. But

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

Mother Jones is in Ohio, making addresses on the Colorado situation. The Bohemian Social-Democrats of Chicago are preparing to turn their weekly paper into a daily.

Comrade H. H. Caldwell of Ohio, now speaking in Milwaukee, asks that his correspondents address him care of this office.

The Republican Peoria Star expresses surprise that a political canvass of the city by one of the capitalist parties disclosed 2,000 people who were out and out voters for Socialism.

The Boston Sunday Herald of Sept. 11 devotes a full page and a half to an appreciation of Mother Jones, with five large portraits of her in different poses. The article makes good reading. Write for a copy.

The Chicago Chronicle prints a despatch from Evansville, Ind., which claims that 2,000 voters will support the Social-Democrats at the coming election.

There is a negro Socialist club there with 100 members.

The Rev. P. M. Alford, of Rockford, Ill., a week ago denounced Socialism. Now the Social-Democrats of that city are clamoring for a debate, and may be able to force the clerical defamer to put up a defense.

Comrade Allan L. Benson of Detroit, whose "Socialism Made Plain" is "going like hot cakes" as a Yankee Merrie England, has an article in the September Arena magazine on "The President, his Attorney General and the Trusts." You ought to read it.

"Next," Comrade Titus' new paper to succeed the "Seattle Socialist" has been received and makes a good appearance. It is eight pages, three columns to the page and profusely illustrated. We wish him luck, only Titus does not depend on luck to win for him.

The most surprising and gratifying reports come from all over the country. There is a wonderful opening of eyes. We scarcely have to argue Socialism now; simply have to give people a correct idea of it and they see at once the necessity for it. We predict a growth in the Socialistic sentiment that will shortly sweep this country as a tidal wave. The real agitators for Socialism today are the wealth lords who are greedily turning in the screws.

The following campaign pamphlets have been issued by national headquarters in Italian, French,

German, Polish, Bohemian, Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish and can be obtained from the National Secretary, 369 Dearborn st., Chicago: National Platform; "The Mission of the Socialist Party" by Eugene V. Debs; "Which Party Should Workingmen Support" by A. M. Simons. Prices of each, \$1.25 for 500; \$2 per 1,000.

Speaking Dates: Sept. 23, Cincinnati, O.; 26, Xenia, O.; 28, Nashville, Ill.; 30, Brookfield, Mo. James F. Carey, Sept. 25, Lawrence, Mass.; 26, Newburyport, Mass.; 27, Amesbury, Mass.; 28, Gloucester, Mass.; 29, Salem, Mass.; 30, Lowell, Mass. John Spargo, Sept. 23, Butte, Mont.; 26-30, Montana. John W. Brown, Sept. 25, Friendsville, Md.; 26-30, Allegheny Co., Pa. Chas. Fergler, Bohemian Organizer, Sept. 23-26, 27, Baltimore, Md.; 28, 29, Philadelphia, Pa.; Oct. 1st, New York City.

ARKANSAS.—I thought you would like to know something of the election here. Four years ago 27 votes in the state. Three years ago when I came here not a Socialist paper coming into this—Sebastian County. On the 5th of this month we ran a county ticket. Results: Fenner (Gov.), 143; Hogan (Sen.), 208; three members of legislature, 173, 103, 188, and a good many votes thrown out. The S.-D. I. gets better every issue. I think the last issue the best sheet I ever saw.

Burma, Ark. R. P. O'Neil.

NORTH DAKOTA.—I closed a three months' tour of agitation in North Dakota Sept. 6. A number of good meetings were held in almost every county of the eastern half of the state. Comrade S. E. Haight has also been in the field during the whole summer. Considerable literature has been distributed and sold from the "N. D. State Van" and many subscriptions taken for the S.-D. H. Wilshire and The Appeal. North Dakota is an agricultural community. It is evident however that a considerable portion of the farmers will turn to Socialism in the next few years. It is possible to convince the farmer that under capitalism he virtually does not own his farm, and that collective ownership will give him all that he produces and hence the real advantage which private ownership would be supposed to give in an individualistic industry. The impression is general with the farmer and prevail among certain doctrinaire Socialists that collective ownership necessarily involves collective operation of agriculture. Collective operation cannot be understood or believed in by the farmer until economic evolution has forced him to accept it as a desirable economic condition. Until the evolutionary forces making for collective agriculture are more manifest than they are at this present moment it is altogether utopian and not scientific to preach it as a part of the program of Socialism; for the farmer invariably gets the impression that the Socialists think such changes can be made by votes and legislation. Authorities may be changed so, but not the process of production.

G. E. Etherbee.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

The London Labor Leader publishes a letter from France in which no question is made of the probability of Millerand stepping into the leadership exercised by the late Waldeck-Rousseau. It says that Millerand is now entirely broken with Socialism, every tie that bound him to it having been severed. The Dresden resolution, it thinks, will but confirm the ostracism which the Socialist movement put upon him.

A warm debate has been precipitated in England by Keir Hardie, M. P., who in criticizing the Dresden Resolution passed by the late International Socialist congress rebels at the insistence on the class struggle in Socialist propaganda, holding that it is against a system and not against a class that the Social-Democrats of the world are fighting. Both in the Social-Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party of England many critics have sprung into the breach and the papers of both parties are filled with their letters. His opponents insist that the class war is inseparable from the capitalist system and that Socialists who make any claim to being scientific have no choice but to take cognizance of the struggle and to point out its present inevitability and the dishonesty of ignoring its existence and its influence on the struggle for labor emancipation. Hardie continues to contribute his installments of his "Indictment of the Class War," and a long controversy will doubtless ensue.

NAT'L. HEADQUARTERS. — There seems to be a systematic effort on foot to discredit the National Socialist ticket by impugning the union record of Ben. Hanford, the vice-presidential candidate. A few days ago news came from Omaha to the effect that a report was being circulated that Hanford scabbed "once upon a time." In a report of Hanford's meeting at Canton, Ill., on Aug. 29th, the "Leader" of that city stated that Hanford "At one time was suspended from the ranks of the Typographical Union, and 'sought relief' in the courts and forced the courts to re-instate him." Then the Worcester, Mass., Telegram in a report of Hanford's meeting there on Sept. 9th, said the story had reached Worcester that Hanford had worked in a non-union shop at the time he was helping to conduct the typographical union fight against the New York Sun.

The facts are that Hanford never scabbed in his life, never had any trouble with his union, and the foregoing reports are absolutely false. Hanford joined the Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, twenty-five years ago and from that time he has never been without his card. If anyone charges him with having "scabbed" or "sought relief" the comrades should denounce any such

What Socialism Stands For.

HARRY QUELCH, OF LONDON JUSTICE, EXPLAINS IT.

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owners was absolutely necessary to the success of such an enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods; they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the

things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of enjoying life, more opportunities for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the invention of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class, recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished and Socialism will be here.

charge as maliciously false, demand of the person the charge and time and place of the commission of the act, and then communicate with the secretary of the Typographical Union in that place and the statement will be stated as follows: "false in every particular, unqualifiedly." Wm. Mailey, Nat'l. Secy.

Some Catholic dignitaries have answered this query in the negative, and it is important to know what attitude the Socialists take on this question. From the front cover the features of Ben. Hanford greet the reader. The life size portrait which is the work of P. A. Dahme, is a very good likeness of the vice presidential candidate of the Socialist party. The full page cartoon "All for One and One for All," especially drawn for the Comrade by Rata Langa, Italy's foremost cartoonist, is extremely clever. Ten cents a copy. The Comrade, 11 Cooper Square, New York.

ORDER AT ONCE! The Struggle for Existence

By Walter Thomas Mills, A. M.
of Chicago, Ill.
This is a Study in the Foundation Principles of Social Economy and Their Application to the Collective Struggle for Existence.

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Judges Bennett, of Denver, says: "It will make a great mark in the world; it will convince anyone who will read it, and it is readable by the public school." J. E. Nash of Minneapolis, says: "I would not sell my copy, at any price if I could not replace it." Seymour Sudman says: "It is the best book in the field." Ernest Untermann says: "I will promote its circulation in every way I can." W. S. Dalton, chairman of the N. Y. People's Party, says: "It is interesting! Wait! I stop at a 6 o'clock train in the morning to continue reading it!" It contains 48 chapters, 640 pages, handsomely bound in English linen. Price, single copies, \$2.50 each, postpaid. Two copies shipped to one address \$4.50, and the purchaser pays the freight. Address all orders to:

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VICTOR L. BERGER, Associate.

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

DEBS AND HANFORD DATES.

Eugene V. Debs, 20, Portland, Ore.; 27, Tacoma, Wash.; 28, Seattle, Wash.; 29, Spokane, Wash.; 30, Wallace, Idaho; October 1st, Missouli, Mont.

Ben. Hanford, Sept. 25, West Hoboken, N. J.; 26, Camden, N. J.; 28, Philadelphia, Pa.; 30, Pottsville, Pa.; October 1st, York, Pa.

"Our" Country!

In one of his matchless Social-Democratic addresses Eugene V. Debs epigrammatically declared, "The American workingman lives by permission." And so he does. Every day in this world of capitalistic aggression brings fresh evidence of the truth, of the observation. There are only two reasons why capitalism permits the worker to dwell on the earth at all: one is that the workers are, after all, the consumers and the buyers of the capitalistic products, the other is that the workers are workers and must be used under the competitive wage system to produce and to yield up to the capitalist his increase. And the latter is the more important reason of the two, for without the exploitation of the wage laborer capitalism would cease to exist. Lucky it is that these powerful reasons do exist for the worker, else the capitalist class would withhold the permission to enslave the earth which the worker now "enjoys." The capitalist needs the worker in his business, therefore permits him to remain.

The wealth class even permits the worker to take root in the soil, wherever he can get him into an interest-paying, land-buying scheme, but this has its drawbacks in some cases, particularly where mineral deposits have been afterward discovered under the land. The average capitalist, otherwise known as the Great American Hog, wants everything that is valuable and so has at last hit upon a scheme whereby he can do business in real estate in localities where veins of mineral deposits are a possibility, and still keep a anchor to windward. So he permits the worker to buy farm land of him, but puts in a "mineral right" reservation. The man who buys the land and tries to build up a homestead does so under the most miserable uncertainties. He merely has possession of the top layer of the earth which is encompassed within his fences, and even that can be wrested away from him with scarcely a moment's notice provided mineral deposits are found underneath and the land seller wants to use the surface of the ground to carry on mining operations.

We have finally gotten possession of one of the land contract blanks by which such sales are made and by which the buyer can after ward be ousted from his property. It is from a contract which the Wisconsin Central railway company is disposing of a wide strip of country which the state of Wisconsin deeded to it in the days when railway building operations had to be encouraged. The territory has proven a great "spec" to the road and has already produced a good crop of millionaires—and will still continue to, to judge from these clauses in the contract:

"The first party (the railroad company) reserves and excepts unto itself, its successors and assigns, all coal, iron, gold, silver, copper and other mineral ores and all petroleum and other mineral oil and gas, to be discovered therein; and the right to explore, mine, dig, bore, drill for and remove such ores, minerals or oils, at all times, doing no unnecessary damage to the surface of said premises; and in the event of discovery, by exploration or otherwise, of any such ores, minerals or oils, in or under said premises, said first party further reserves to itself, its successors and assigns, all rights in said premises incident to or necessary to complete and convenient enjoyment of said reservations, as well as the right to enter upon, occupy, use, remove and enjoy, to the extent of the exercise by said party of the first part of its successors or assigns, of said hereinabove reserved right to occupy, use and enjoy, to the exclusion of the third party, the surface of the above granted premises in whole or in part, then said first party, its successors or assigns, shall, upon demand of the third party, his heirs or assigns, pay to said third party, his heirs or assigns, the sum of One Hundred Dollars (\$100.00) per acre for all that portion of the surface of the above granted premises which shall be so permanently and exclusively occupied by said first party, its successors or assigns; and shall at its or their own expense, remove to another location selected by it, such buildings, if any, of the third party, his heirs or assigns, as shall have then been placed upon that portion of said premises so permanently occupied, to the exclusion of the third party, his heirs or assigns. Upon making such payment said Central Company, its successors and assigns, shall be restored to and re-vested of the same estate in, of and to that portion of said above granted premises so as aforesaid exclusively and permanently occupied by the Central Company, its successors or assigns, which was held by said Central Company before the execution and delivery of these presents.

"Unless and until the first party shall elect to exercise and exert its rights herein reserved, and excepting to such extent only as the first party shall exercise and exert the same by resuming the possession of some portion of said premises, the foregoing reservations of said first party, its successors or assigns, for taxation, but shall be valued and assessed, in gross, together with the interest of the grantor, his heirs, successors and assigns, and all taxes and assessments levied or imposed thereon shall be paid by the grantee, his heirs, successors and assigns.

"TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above granted premises, with the appurtenances to the part..... of the third party..... successors, heirs and assigns, forever.

"Said above granted premises are part of the lands patented to the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company by the United States or the State of Wisconsin, under act of Congress approved May 5, 1864, and thereafter conveyed to the party of the first party; and this deed is intended to convey, subject to the exceptions and reservations aforesaid, all the interest in said lands acquired by the party of the first party and said party of the first party hereby covenants and agrees with said party..... of the third party that it holds all the title to the above granted premises covered by the patent from the United States or the State of Wisconsin; and that they were free and clear of all incumbrances placed, done or suffered by said party of the first part at the date when said party..... of the third party agreed to purchase the same, to wit.....

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, said Wisconsin Central Railway Company has hereunto set its corporate seal and caused these presents to be executed by its proper officers, and said John A. Stewart and William L. Bull, Trustees, have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

"Man's inhumanity to man!" Read it in the above cut-throat contract.

(Continued from Page 2.)

RESOLVED, that the evidence presented before this convention lead us to condemn our confidence in Comrade Wilson as a party to the irregularities in San Francisco; and.

WHEREAS, there is no evidence that Comrade Wilson was in any way a party to such activities; and

WHEREAS, Comrade Wilson has conclusively shown that all such conclusions implicating him in the party organization are absolutely unfounded and not borne out by the facts;

Therefore, be it RESOLVED, by the Socialists of California in convention assembled that we consider the hasty conclusions implicating his fealty to the party organization are absolutely unfounded and not borne out by the facts.

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